

and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one-half of its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity. 712

INDUSTRY

The major industries of the Marquesas included the erection of platforms and houses, canoe building, fishing, planting and harvesting. These were the peace-time activities, requiring the participation of communal labor under the direction of organizers and skilled leaders. What may be characterized as the minor industries are those in the especial province of the women, particularly mat and cloth making and those home industries such as the making of weapons and utensils, that were practiced as private employment by men. The arts and minor crafts, practiced as a means of livelihood by professionals, consisted in tattooing, the making of ornaments, drum making, the making of string figures and lashings, and in the decoration of canoes and houses, in various ways such as with ornamental sennit or carving. 461 ● 462 463

THE TERMS HANA AND TUHUNA

The word *hana* is used freely in the Marquesas to signify work, industries, and the like: for example, *hana ava-ika* indicates the whole industry of fishing, *te tau hana enata*, meaning all the native arts and crafts. *Tuhuna* signified one who was a proved expert in any phase of activity, mental or physical. A *tuhuna* was an expert, a master, a director in enterprise, or one of great learning. If a native's admiration is excited by anything that one does—and nothing excites their admiration more than skill or cleverness—he will say, *tuhuna oe*; you are a *tuhuna*. The terms for various kinds of *tuhuna* do not indicate that there was in each tribe a professional who devoted all his time to one of these activities. One person might be a *tuhuna* in a number of branches of learning or activity. And *tuhuna* did not necessarily mean a professional; although it usually did, since one who came to be recognized as a *tuhuna* would undoubtedly have been called upon to practice as a professional and would thus have gained in wealth and prestige. *Tuhuna nui*, meaning great *tuhuna*, was applied to one especially skilled in his profession, one who occupied the position of director among other skilled workers, as, for example, the chief fisherman, but particularly to one who had all-around skill and 556

463 monial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository
 565 and teacher of sacred and traditional lore. This *tuhuna* is discussed in
 connection with the rites in which he functioned. There seems to have
 been no particular dress or insignia that distinguished *tuhuna* as a class
 in every day life, although they wore a special ceremonial dress at the time
 of rites, as did others taking part. This dress will be described in connec-
 tion with these rites.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ALL INDUSTRY

● 461 Before entering upon the detailed description of the different types of
 464 work, it may be well to summarize the main features that characterized en-
 terprise of every kind. In the first place anyone who was employing others
 to do work for him was expected to feed his employees during the time
 of the labor, as well as to pay them. If it were a large undertaking the
 directors and experts and their assistants were both fed and housed during
 the whole time of the labor.

464 All work was consecrated, *tapu*, for the reason that its successful ac-
 784 complishment required the shutting out of any contaminating influences.
 The *tapu* on workers and places of work may be compared to the prophylactic
 precautions of medical practice—these *tapu* in the Marquesas were
 to guard the product of the work from evil spiritual influences. The build-
 ing of special houses for the accomplishment of all work and consecration
 of the precincts were to insure freedom from contaminating influences.
 These special houses were of different forms which are described in con-
 nection with the various enterprises. Regarded from a practical point of
 view they were shelters that protected the workers and their work from
 the elements. Before beginning work all those who were to take part had
 to purify themselves, to insure that no evil influences would be brought to
 the work. The evil influences that had to be guarded against were mostly
 those associated with womankind, the contamination connected with the
 reproductive functions of woman; and evil spirits that were supposed to
 associate themselves with females. Persons and things that had been
 associated with consecrated labor were regarded as sacred. Before such
 persons could return to common activities, such as eating and sexual life,
 they had to be relieved of the sacred influence by bathing or by a chant.
 And things, such as the sacred houses, that had been associated with the
 work had to be destroyed by burning.

461 There were omens prophetic of the successful or unsuccessful accom-
 787 plishment of labor, but modern informants know little about them, as omens
 were a part of the knowledge of *tuhuna* and were restricted to them.
 Especial deities presided over every type of activity. Chants and spells

constituted as important a part in the accomplishment of enterprises as the actual practice itself. In making a new thing such as a coffin, a canoe, or a house, a most important stage consisted in the consecration of the new thing after its completion by the recitation of the creation or generation chant, which linked the new product of man's handicraft with the beginnings and successive stages of creation, uniting the new thing made with all that had gone before, from the beginning of the world. In the work of food collecting, fishing, and harvesting, the final stage consisted in the offering of first fruits—a very important part, as it was instrumental in leading to further successful accomplishments of the same work. Such offerings of first fruits relieved the foods of *tapu* by giving the gods their share, thus releasing the rest for human consumption.

Lastly, the accomplishment of undertakings of every kind was celebrated always with feasting and merrymaking. These periods of consecrated activity were always followed by long periods of inactivity and repose.

WOODWORK

The materials utilized in woodwork were beams, boards, and posts of wood, and cords to lash them together. The tools employed were stone adzes, stone chisels, mallets, and the pump drill. Most of the cord (*aho*) and rope (*tou'a*) was sennit cord, made chiefly from coconut fiber (*kaha*)—*pu'u kaha* being the generic term for sennit cord bindings and *ke'e kaha* and *kaha patapata* terms applied to such cord when used in ornamental lashings. Each lashing had its name, as *humu o Tana-oa*, *Fiti nui*, *Fiti peka*, and professionals (*tuhuna pehe*) devoted themselves to adapting the designs, which were taken from string figures (*pehe*—see Games), and to applying them in ornamental lashings. In these lashings cords of different colors were combined, some of them being of the natural reddish-brown color and others stained in water, colored with red earth, or according to one informant, dyed with the juice of the fruit of the *pu'u peni* (?); some were dyed yellow with *ena* or black by being buried in mud, or (according to Linton) by being soaked in juice from the bark of the *mai* (*Terminalia* sp.) tree, or were smeared with a paste blackened with candlenut soot; and some were made white by soaking in water in which white earth (or perhaps lime) was mixed. The manufacture of cord for nets has been described in connection with net-making. (See Fishing.)

According to Linton's information, three-, four-, six-, seven-, and eight-strand rope was made, the three-strand (*tou'a*) and the four-strand (*fofii*) being the most common and the seven-strand being used for certain ceremonial purposes. It may be that the ceremonial significance of seven prevented the use of the seven-strand cordage for general purposes. In

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324 native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped
342 carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of
482 large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

342 The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu*; hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu*, and required consecration of the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the

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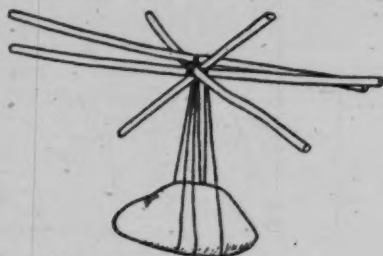


FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

342 The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the
333 house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e*, *tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta akau* (*ta*, strike; *akau*, wood) or *te tau poi ma te kaokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who was building it would die.

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648 his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

648 It seems strange how a people, living under no form of govern-
 461 ment that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who
 appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to
 stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them,
 should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity
 of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act
 with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on
 by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the bea-
 vers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works
 which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most
 surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have
 since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my
 neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have
 scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the
 almost perpendicular rocks and mountains, to the summits of which
 they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it
 possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting
 labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly hercu-
 lean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour
 among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion
 of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the
 people of one valley had agreed to take it a certain distance,
 when it was to be received and carried on by those of another
 valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the
 information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had
 recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among them-
 selves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved
 each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transporta-
 tion of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without
 any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer ex-
 pected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we
 had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the sub-
 ject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monu-
 ment of their great exertions.

554 As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to
 622 assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs,
 who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and in-
 [427] dulent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land,
 and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made,
 431 he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or
 554 bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors
 622 assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a
 bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugar-
 cane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his

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648 At the head of the tribe stood the chief, but he appears to have been a different functionary from the Hawaiian or Tahitian ruler. The concepts of divine descent and absolute power were lacking among the Marquesans, and there was no sharp line of demarkation between the ruled and ruling classes. As in all other parts of Polynesia, the office was hereditary, but the chiefs frequently sought to strengthen their position by alliance with influential families of commoners. Such alliances were formed principally through adoption, and the chieftainship might in this way pass out of the line of actual blood descent. The chief was looked upon as the director of group activities, and in some places at least, as the owner of the tribal lands. His power was by no means absolute, however, and in case of oppression his followers might desert and pass into the service of another chief. It is an interesting fact that the chief does not seem to have been expected to expose his person in war. Battles were directed by war leaders (*toa*) who were men of proved valor. Within many of the fortifications visited, small enclosures were pointed out as the place where the chief took refuge with a body-guard of picked men, during an attack.

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105 Second to the chief, and with power almost equal to his, was the inspirational priest (*tan'a*). This personage was believed to be the mouthpiece of the god, and as such had much influence in secular as well as religious matters. The relative power of the chief and *tan'a* in any community no doubt depended largely upon their personalities, but on the whole the power of the *tan'a* appears to have been inferior, final decision in most matters resting with the chief.

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461 Next in importance below the chief and *tan'a* ranked the heads of large families. Below these in turn seem to have been classed the master craftsmen of various trades, *tuhuna*. Such men appear to have been regularly instructed and were extremely jealous of their trade secrets. They were employed and well paid by chiefs and rich commoners, who fed and housed them while the work was going on. It is an interesting commentary on the position of the skilled workman in the social scale that even chiefs did not consider it below their dignity to make and sell objects. Gracia (28, p. 149) mentions a chief who derived most of his revenue from carving pipes.

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484 In spite of the difficulties of land communication, the lack of centralized authority, and the almost constant inter-tribal wars, the isolation of the various valleys was more apparent than real. Due to the involved native relationships, and especially to the practice of adoption, many individuals were under the protection of more than one tribe and could serve as go-betweens. *Tuhuna* of important trades also appear to have been able to travel with considerable safety as their services were much in demand. Great fetes given by one tribe were often attended by contingents from other tribes with whom the givers were tempo-

245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than
enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would
be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural
labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they
could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all
objects were individually owned. At the same time there was
recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether fam-
ily or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved,
one might not hold out property without committing offense.

[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe,
but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops
were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership,
but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they
belonged to the family and were prorated by the household
head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the own-
ership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands
of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically,
heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or
gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circum-
stance which caused considerable confusion when the French
tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs
furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were
ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test
of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain
path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack
the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset
here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the
same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount,
keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to
the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig

MARQUESAN CULTURE

145 32

designs. The people took delight in fine craftsmanship and great [467] pride in perfection. A master worker enjoyed much prestige.

There was sharp sex distinction in the manufacturies, women [462] being of minimum importance. They could make mats, baskets, fans, and bark cloth, but only about fifteen percent of the articles used by the tribe were made by women. A man could use mats or baskets made by a woman, but he could not wear bark cloth that had been made by a woman not related to him by blood. Even a wife was barred by this taboo, so that when a woman did make bark cloth, it was for the use of her brother or nephew, not her husband. This was the only place in Poly[53] nesia where the natives had no decoration on their bark cloth; [386] they merely dipped it occasionally in saffron to dye it yellow. All the women's handiwork was similarly crude and simple.

The men's work, in contradistinction, was of tremendous economic importance. All the production of food, with the exception of gathering shellfish, done by both sexes, was men's work. Men built the houses, made the cooking utensils, did their own cooking, and not infrequently cooked for the entire household. In short, men were in complete charge of the economic situation.

MASTER CRAFTSMEN

The institution of master craftsmen was saliently characteristic [467] of Marquesan culture. All men knew how to make everything that they needed, but the degree of skill differed and there was great respect for experts. The master craftsman was a person of importance and had the opportunity to accumulate wealth.

At the upper end of the scale of master craftsmen were the house and canoe makers, who were also organizers and directors, and the artists, who were master carvers. These *tuhungas* [466] worked mostly on order; they joined the employer's household, received food during the time they were working on a job, and were presented with a liberal gift on departure. The *tuhunga* could afford to be temperamental, for because of the peculiar religious sanctions, no other man could carry on a job which